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THE CHARACTER OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Commonly called the

Rump, &c.

Begun *November* 23. in the Year 1640.

With a ſhort ACCOUNT of ſome of their

PROCEEDINGS.

Ille nefaſto te poſuit die
-------- in nepotum
Perniciem, opprobrium; Pagi.

HORACE.

Hinc uſura vorax, avidumq; in tempore fœnus,
& concuſſa fides, & multis utile Bellum.

LUCAN.

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PREFACE.

THERE are few Men of Judgment, Candor, and Impartiality, who will not allow a Government, conſiſting of King and Parliament, to be the beſt Conſtitution in the World. France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Sicily, and ſome other Kingdoms, had once this Advantage, but unfortunately loſt it; ſome by Faction, others by being Conquered; and others, by a National depravity of Manners, joined to the Ambition of Princes, and the Intrigues of their Miniſters. We of theſe Iſlands are now left the laſt, who enjoy this Bleſſing in any Perfection; and we may ſtill preſerve it pure and entire, if we can but retain ſome Degree of the Virtue of our Anceſtors. But we ſhould be careful what Perſons we chooſe to Repreſent us in Parliament; for, if (according to the vulgar Maxim in the Schools) Corruptio optimi eſt Peſſima, a CORRUPT Parliament would then, of all Evils in Government, be the Greateſt; and exceed the worſt Tyranny in a ſingle Perſon. An abſolute Prince might be Cruel, Rapacious, Covetous, a Diſſipater of the Publick Treaſure, an Enemy of Religion, and it would be very bad: But all this would be nothing, when compared to a Mob of ſuch Tyrants, moſt of them with the ſame Diſpoſitions, and every way like that greater one, only the more provoking, as in their Perſons they would be more contemptible, nor is this a Thing not to be ſuppoſed. Our Hiſtory furniſheth us with an Inſtance of a Parliament of that kind; which is here undertaken to be deſcribed to the Publick, in one unmixed View; both be-

becauſe this hath not been yet done by any one, that I know of; and alſo, that a Proſpect of it in this manner, may poſſibly give our Country-Men, a full Notion, of how great Conſequence it is to them, to be extreamly cautious whom they truſt at any time to be their Repreſentatives. *Here they may have before their Eyes, what Abuſes a* CORRUPT Parliament *is capable of. The Writer, in putting his Thoughts together on this Subject, has ſet himſelf a Rule to keep Religoiuſly to the Hiſtory of the Men and the Times, and not to indulge himſelf or the Reader in charging any Character too much, or deviating from the Truth, to make the Story more agreeable. The Facts and Characters are all of them to be found, either in my Lord* Clarendon, Whitlock, Ruſhworth, *Sir* Philip Warwick, Ludlow, Hobbs, *or ſome other Writer of thoſe Times: But many Paſſages are omitted for the Sake of Brevity, or through Forgetfulneſs, or becauſe they did not exactly fall in with the general Deſign: And ſuch as are mentioned, are not always conſidered in the order of Time in which they happened. True it is, ſome few of the Things here imputed to the Parliament, were not their immediate and direct Act; but, which is much the ſame thing, though not all done by them, they were all done in their way, in treading their Paths, and by a Power derived from them. The greateſt* Scelerates *had either their expreſs Orders, their Approbation or Example and Authority, to plead for the worſt Crimes then committed.*

BY what Means and Degrees theſe Pretended Patriots arrived to the height of Wickedneſs, and begat ſo great Irreverence towards their own Perſons and Characters, is here endeavoured to be explained, and may poſſibly be inſtructive to thoſe, who may not elſewhere have obſerved the Series of their Tranſactions; nor the Period, when properly they became dignified with the Title of the Rump; *which was, when they had ſubverted all the honeſt Ends and Purpoſes of Parliaments, and when they ſate by Virtue of their* own Choice and Power, *and not by the* Free Election *of their* Country.

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THE CHARACTER OF THE PARLIAMENT, Commonly call'd the *Rump*.

THIS famous *Parliament*, which Sate so long, did so much Mischief, and involved the three Kingdoms in Guilt and Misery, met at *Westminster*, the 3d of *November*, 1640. Through the Misrepresentations of those about the King, his Majesty unluckily thought fit to part with the preceding Parliament upon ill

Terms, and before he had Time to know them, which was thought a very impolitick Step, to ſay no worſe of it. They were Men of Moderation, and zealous for the Publick Good, and were the Reverſe of their Succeſſors; who never ceas'd 'till they drew upon theſe Nations infinite Calamities, and Diſrepute, and even Contempt upon the very Name of a Houſe of COMMONS.

AMONG many illegal and more weak Things, then committed in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, none could be worſe judged, than that Precipitate Act of the Court; which ſtruck, with Concern and Indignation, all who had a due Attention to his Majeſty's Service, and Regard for the Conſtitution of the Realm. But it was the Subject of Joy and Triumph to the Men of turbulent Spirits; to the Enemies of the Church, and of Peace; to thoſe, who long'd for nothing more than to throw the State into Confuſion, in hopes to repair their ſhattered Fortunes, to acquire Wealth and Power; or to glut their Malice and Revenge. And it muſt be owned, the Succeſs antwered beyond their moſt extravagant Imaginations: A great Part of their Purpoſes, and even Wiſhes, having been fatally effected, and many of the chief Managers having crept into high Stations, purloined Titles, and amaſſed immenſe Sums, who from their Birth, Merits,

rits, or Qualifications, could reaſonably have aſpired no higher, than to the meaneſt Offices.

FROM Motives, and by Perſons, ſuch as theſe, the Elections could not but be carried on very irregularly. The Factious were Men of Craft and Induſtry, and ſtuck at nothing to carry their Point. Returns were made of Perſons to ſerve for Places, where their Names had never been heard of before; and, where Bribes and Artifices, to debauch the Minds of the Electors and the Returning Officers, would not prevail, Violence ſucceeded. Neither was this the worſt of the Caſe. When the Houſe of Commons met, and by thoſe and other Means, the Majority was clearly on the ſide of the *Faction*, they turned out, and put in whom they thought proper, without any ſort of Modeſty, or the leaſt attention to the eſtabliſh'd Rules of the Houſe, or to the manifeſt Juſtice of the Cauſe. Thus very many, againſt the Conſent, and without the Knowledge of their Country, aſſumed to themſelves the Title of its Repreſentatives, which yet was not ordinarily objected to them as any Crime; ſo much did their Conduct, as Members of the Houſe, obſcure the Reproach of their having diſhonourably intruded into it.

It is true, a great Part of this foul Management, in point of Elections, happen'd in proceſs of Time, when they were grown Old and Hardened in Corruptions of all Kinds; when they had loſt the Remembrance of Right and Wrong; but it is alſo true, that even in the Infancy of their Power, the ſame Spirit prevail'd, and they ſet out with the Aſſurance of thoſe, who had abandon'd all Decency and Remorſe. The difference was, it was Paſſion, and Rage, and Madneſs in the beginning: Afterwards, it was Phlegmatick, impudent Villany, and Corruption.

Yet, it ought always to be remembred, that there were Men of that Houſe, of as great Worth, Integrity, and Abilities, as have ſate in any Parliament whatever: Men, who were Proof againſt all Temptations of Gain, and not to be over-awed by Threats, or the Torrent that then raged. But theſe were outnumbered by People of different Views, different Principles: The Majority was a Compound of Pretenders to Zeal againſt Popery, of real Atheiſts, of profeſſed Republicans, of weak and Ignorant Slaves to the Managers, and above all, of wretched Mercenaries, who proſtituted their Conſcience, and ſold their Country for their Daily Pay.

THE Leaders of this Band of Conſpirators againſt their Country deſerve to be delivered down to Poſterity, with all poſſible Marks of Infamy; But becauſe Deſcendants may attone for the Wickedneſs (as they often degenerate from the Virtue) of their Anceſtors, the Names of thoſe Perſons ſhall at preſent be paſſed over in Silence. Yet at the ſame Time, it may not be altogether unſeaſonable to sketch out the Characters of ſome few of the moſt Notorious, that we may look back and ſee, what ſort of Perſons thoſe were, who had both the Will and Power to *impoveriſh* the *Publick*, and enſlave their Native Country; that if for the future any *others* ſhould unhappily ariſe with the ſame Diſpoſitions and Talents, the Reſemblance might be obſerv'd time enough to prevent a Parallel in the Story every way.

ONE of theſe was a *Gentleman*, well known in thoſe Times, both on the Score of his Parts, which were competently adapted to the Mechanical Part of Buſineſs, and alſo of ſome Diſgrace, he had undergone from the late Men in Power; which, when that Power devolved into other Hands, gave him a Pretence to ſet up for a *Sufferer*. He ſpoke in the Houſe with great readineſs, and at all Times with a certain appearing Frankneſs, in his manner of expreſſing himſelf, that was not

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diſagreeable. No Man ſpoke more than he of Concern for the *Publick*; no Man had the Publick leſs at Heart; but it ſerv'd his Purpoſe, as it furniſh'd him with Popular Topicks for Harrangues, and was likewiſe a convenient Prey for him and his hungry Creatures. He was a bold Undertaker in Buſineſs; not eaſily diſcourag'd by the difficulty of the Work, and never to be put out of Countenance at the foulneſs of it. But his chief Excellence conſiſted in the dexterous Application of Lies to his ſeveral Purpoſes; and thoſe he could frame extempore, and with that undaunted Aſſurance, they were of great Service to him at particular Seaſons; although the too frequent Uſe of them, and his laughing at Truth, openly and wantonly, contributed no leſs to the diſcovery of his defect in Judgment, than his ſnatching at all Opportunities to get Money, betrayed the Weakneſs and Impotence of his Mind. However, his Influence in the *Houſe* was great: From the Senſe of what pleaſed himſelf beſt, he knew how to gain others; and he was the better qualified for the Times, and for the Part he had to act, being wholly void of Shame, and as entirely undiſturbed with any Fumes or Principles of Virtue, Honour or Religion; as free in himſelf from all Aproaches towards Compaſſion or Humanity.

A *ſecond* of theſe was a *Gentleman* of good Extraction, liberal Education, and of ſome Learning. From the Company he had kept in his younger Years, and from his manner of Life, he had contracted an inveterate Malice againſt the Church, and imbibed early Principles againſt Monarchy: Though no Man went farther than he, in the Support and promoting of the moſt lawleſs Acts of Tyranny, when he had his Share of Power. He had been bred up to the Profeſſion of Arms, and had got ſome Reputation that way, which he quickly loſt, by the unſoldierly Defence and *Surrender* of a *Town* of Importance: For this ill Conduct he was accuſed, and might have Suffer'd, if he had not been befriended by the *General*, who lived to repent his good Nature, to a Man, never very ſenſible of Favours or Benefits. That Gentleman betook himſelf afterwards to another kind of Life, and got one of the *Seals* into his Poſſeſſion, which he uſed to ill Purpoſes enough, but always with good Manners, which was peculiar to him. Not being well fixed in any Form of Government, he ran into many wild Schemes, and was rather a Builder of Common-Wealths, than a Member of any one. It was conjectured he had a Tincture of Enthuſiaſm in his Compoſition, which, if true, might account for part of his Life, and perhaps be thought ſome extenuation of ſeveral things he had been guilty of, to the Prejudice of his Country,

Country, to which, perhaps, few Men really wiſh'd better, than he.

Another of theſe, and, it may be, one of the moſt outragious of the whole *Sett*, was an *Officer* of mean Parts and Parentage; a meddling, bluſtring Fellow, determined, and very diligent: Conceited, Undertaking, incapable of offering any Reaſons to convince others, or of comprehending Reaſon, ſo as to be perſwaded himſelf. By the extraordinary Favour of the *General*, to whom he had been *Uſeful* in *ſeveral Capacities*, he had made his way, from being a *Subaltern*, in a few Years, to one of the higheſt Poſts in the Army; and in every Poſt, he ſtill ſhewed great uneaſineſs, as if the Place were not big enough to hold him, and that he could not breathe, until he got higher; which made him preſs and buſtle and affront every thing in his way. He was Servile in his Applications to thoſe who could advance him, and no Man endeavoured to make his Court more than he, or did it with a worſe Grace. So that his Ambition was unmeaſurable, but misbecame him: And it was obſerved of him by one of the ſame Side, who was no bad Obſerver of Men, That *he was a Clown in fine Cloaths*; intimating, how uncouthly any thing of Grandeur ſat upon him.

When

When the *House* of *Commons* became filled with *Soldiers*, he got himself returned to serve for a Borough, and acted the same Part in the House, he had done out of it; that is, he was restless in his Motions, and brutal in his Opinions; and tho' he often appeared more busie, than he really was, he never could appear more Brutal. If at any Time an unjust Proposition, that might lay whole Countries waste, was to be made in the House, he was so apprehensive of its failing, he would run every where to Summon the *Posse*, and take upon himself the Office of *Muster-Master-General* of the Party: And then if by great accident, the House seemed inclined to come into an Act less ill-natured than usual, it would put him out of all Patience, and he would shew the utmost disquiet, being unable to keep his Countenance, or to sit still in his Place. Ingratitude was so much a part of his Character, it was looked upon with the Indulgence People allow for natural Infirmities, which are not to be cured. His Understanding was confused and muddy; so he never troubled his Head about Notions, or Schemes, or Laws of Government; all which he resolved into *Force*: Consequently his Politicks, as his Morals, were those of a *Dragoon*, to oppress and Plunder where he could; which he performed with the most punctual Discipline, without Bowels, or Mercy.

FROM him a good deal of the Spirit of the Officers of those Times may be collected: Altho' they differed in many other Particulars, yet in those of Rapine, Plunder, and Inhumanity, they seemed to agree very well, and to be uniform in their Principles, if we may so call them.

A fourth of the *Ephori* was the then *Sollicitor General*, a Man of all others the least amiable: He was descended of an antient Family by an indirect Line; was extremely formal, proud, and morose; conversed with few, and had a certain pedantick manner of declaring his own Opinion, and expressing a Contempt of that of all others; which, perhaps sometimes imposed upon those, who knew no better than himself, and might have gained him the little Repute he had, of Skill in his Profession. And that which was very particular, his Self-Sufficiency was so entire, that whatever he advanced, he would believe to be right; and he would advance absurd Arguments in Point of Law, upon a supposition of their receiving a Sanction from him: By which means, he would wrest the Law in a very shameless manner. The rest of his Brethren of the Law he surpassed in ill Nature, Sowerness, and Inhumanity: Yet his predominant Quality was Insolence; which shone in every Act and Motion of his Life, in his Air,

Air, his Geſtures, his Words, and particularly in his Looks: All which rendered him not leſs inſupportable in Buſineſs, than he was in his own Family, where he was an abſolute Lord and Tyrant. No wonder if a Perſon of his Frame, was a very evil Inſtrument in tumultuous Times, and eſpecially when Bribery ran higheſt; ſince it was well known, no Man's Ears, and Hands, and Heart, were more open than his, to Gain.

THERE was indeed, another of the ſame Fraternity, but of a different Temper, who had his Hands as deep as any Man, where there was room, either for his Advice or Aſſiſtance, in moſt Acts of Violence, and barefaced Corruption. He had the Appearance of gentleneſs in his Carriage, and had been formerly looked upon as no ill-natured Man. In the more innocent part of his Life, he had aſſociated himſelf with Perſons of other Principles, than thoſe of his new Friends, and had carried thoſe Principles, at leaſt as high as any Man; but no ſooner did he change Sides, than he ſeemed to change Nature; and as if he had taken every Man of thoſe, whom he deſerted, for a living and laſting Reproach to him, he proſecuted them with an hoſtile Fury, and at their Expence, made himſelf as acceptable as he could, to his new Companions; to whom he had devoted himſelf, Soul and Body. Inſomuch, that Juſtice was never worſe adminiſtered, nor

partiality more openly *exalted on the Bench*, than in his Time. The Fact was; His inordinate desire to gain Credit with the Party and Money by that Credit; being inflamed by a malign hatred of his old Friends, he behaved himself like a mad Man, even in private Causes, wherever the Interest of any one of the Party was concerned: And after he had gone thro' most of the Drudgery his Masters expected from him, he was found out by them to be a Man but of ordinary Abilities, and one proper to be Disavowed as they should see Occasion.

THERE was another Lawyer of the Party in the House, of a much better Repute than either of the former. He was a Man of Order in his Profession, had made a good Figure at the *Bar*, and had Sate in former Parliaments with Approbation; but being no good Judge of Men, and not always steady, he was made use of to serve Purposes he did not intend, and concurred with Persons, and in Things, he did not like. His Name in the Beginning was of use to the Managers, altho' he did not long continue to promote their Schemes. And here once for all it may be proper to be observed, that many contributed with all their Might and Main to the first Confusions, who afterwards became sensible of their Error, and would have Retreated; but they found it

was

was very difficult to wear off bad Company, and that all, who have a Power to do Ill, have not the ſame to do Good.

But far from any Remorſe was a *Yorkſhire* Man, of as eminently bad Qualities, as any one whatever: He was opinionative, and a boaſter of his Talents, which were neither quite ſo bad as ſome thought them, nor in any degree ſo good as he fancied, but might have paſſed for tolerable, if he had been content to have medled only with Things within his Sphere. But his Ambition was active, and he procured an Employment, to which he was in no Senſe equal, having neither clearneſs, nor Courage, nor Fidelity, nor Uncorruptedneſs, nor Skill enough to diſguiſe his notorious defect in all the former; ſo he became a very early rank Sinner, and ſtands foremoſt in the Liſt of the moſt guilty of thoſe Times. With a Deſign to deceive others, he was out-witted himſelf, and by an odd turn, was accuſed by thoſe, with whom he had been an *Accomplice* in many Crimes: When he was to plead for himſelf, he grew * *diſtracted* between *Pride* and *Fear*, and *talked confuſedly of the Truſt repoſed in him*, and of his honeſt Intentions; which was ſuch Language for him to uſe, it provoked the general Indignation of all Men. He was committed to the *Tower*, and condemned, and the *Circumſtances* were ſuch, that the *immdiate Hand*

* Lord *Clarendon*.

Hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all Men, who knew his Nature, Humour, and TRANSACTIONS.

ANOTHER was a Gentleman of the *West* of *England* of a good Eſtate, but no otherwiſe remarkable, than as a thorough Slave to the Party, of which he imagined himſelf a Governour. He was a ſtupid, though frequent Speaker in the Houſe; but what made him heard with the better attention, he would clap together a Parcel of ſuch odd Blunders, as would provoke the graveſt Men to Mirth: Then he was always to be counted upon for a Sure Man; he had moreover a venemous diſlike of the Church, which was a Merit; and tho' to chuſe, he would have been glad to be a Gainer by an unjuſt or cruel Propoſition, yet rather than not be engaged in any thing of that Nature, he was ready to ſerve according to the beſt of his Talents (which was noiſe) upon the Foot of a Volunteer.

I had almoſt forgot the *Speaker* of the Houſe, who was a ſuperficial proud Man, and marvelouſly delighted with the Enſigns and Parade of his Place; of which he was ſaid to be tolerably capable, by having applyed himſelf to the ſtudy of the Records, and Journals of Parliament. Beſides, his was a gainful Poſt, and he loved Money to exceſs; ſo the poor Man continued to keep it, amidſt many Changes, and under ſeveral

ſeveral Maſters, until he and the Mace, were both turned out together, and became the deriſion of all People, who had ſeen to what Uſes they had both been put.

I cannot omit taking notice of two others, who tho' of no Conſequence in themſelves, yet oftentimes, by either having Propoſitions put into their Mouths, or by ſeconding ſome of the others, made a ſort of a Figure in the Houſe. One of theſe was a *Juſtice of Peace* for *London* and *Middleſex*; who from the Buſineſs of that Poſt, which he exceedingly liked, both for the Buſineſs and the Gain, had paſſed a great part of his time among Strollers and Pickpockets, and thence contracted ſome ſimilitude in their Stile, Manners, and Honeſty; which enabled him to be very vexatious, where his Authority was Supreme, and troubleſome elſewhere, by an impertinent Zeal, under the Direction of a weak Head. Yet ſuch was the Indulgence of the Party towards a faſt Friend, they frequently careſſed the Man, and ſuſtained his Follies, (wherein he abounded) at the ſame time that he was their Jeſt and Sport, even to a Proverb.

THE other was one of thoſe we call half-witted: He was abſurd and bold in Diſcourſe, but in every other way a complete Coward. He was at firſt very much cheriſhed by them, becauſe he

he would ſay things no body elſe cared to ſay; and becauſe when they had a Mind to tire the Houſe out, they could ſet him to talk Nonſenſe, which he would pour forth upon any Subject, with great Eaſe, and Earneſtneſs, and Eloquence, for Hours together, and yet without leaving the Hearers a poſſibility of gueſſing at his Meaning, and even without underſtanding himſelf, what he would be at; which tho' a trifling Circumſtance, was often of ſingular Service to them.

THERE were likewiſe ſeveral others of Note, who had a conſiderable Share in the Tranſactions and Wickedneſs of the Times, and *One* particularly (of a higher Orb) to whoſe Power, Craft, profound Diſſimularion, implacable Temper, and Avarice not to be ſatiated, was owing as much Miſchief, as to any one Man in that, or any other Age. But conſidering how miſerable a Spectacle he afterwards became, being haunted by a *Demon* in his *Boſom*, and having out lived a very good Underſtanding, it would be pity to ſay more of him in this place. The other Perſons already taken notice of, were ſome of the moſt perſevering Sinners, and are ſufficient to give us a view of the Genius and Diſpoſition of the Heads of an Aſſembly, which one would think could hardly be parallelled in the Hiſtories of any Time or Country.

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BESIDES these, they had a Number of Hirelings, constant in Attendance, and prepar'd to call out, *The Question, The Question,* when ever it was necessary, with Clamor, to drown the Arguments of their Opponents, and by Numbers, to carry what they intended.

THEY had also, besides their Numbers, many Artifices to render the House as Pliant as they could wish. Several of their own Members at once they got confined and imprisoned; many they threatned and frighted from attending; and in the height of their Glory, they bore Contradiction with an Impatience, as if it were a Crime to controul them. This brings to Mind a Story, among several others, to exemplifie both their Cunning, and the Pride of their Hearts. The House was in a warm Debate of an Affair, which the Managers had much at Heart, and carried at length, to the irreparable Damage of their Country; but it met with vigorous opposition; particulary from a *Gentleman* of great Reputation, much esteem'd every where, and terrible in the House to those People. In the Argument of that Day, he happened to drop an Expression, that serv'd them for a Pretence of Clamor against him: this Expression one of their Members, who was always willing to indulge his spite, and merit a Place or Pension, took notice of, and complained of its Irregularity: For which the other, he said, ought to *withdraw*; which begate another long De-

bate. The Concluſion was; After much Paſſion from the angry Men, which ſhewed how extremely offenſive that Perſon was to them, he was ordered to *withdraw*, and to be committed to the *Tower*; whereby they inſpired new audacity into their Friends, they were revenged on an old Enemy, they got rid of a troubleſome Gueſt, and endeavoured to warn others, not to provoke their Vengeance and Injuſtice.

No ſooner did the Houſe meet, than it was obvious enough with how little Temper, Wiſdom, or Juſtice, they were likely to proceed. The Nation required Peace, that Men's Minds might be calmed; therefore the Party ran into Violences. They began with *Impeachments*, in order to which, a *Committee* was appointed to find out, or rather to make Mildemeanours and High-Treaſon: Nor were the *Committee* wanting to their Buſineſs: Informers were encourag'd, Papers ſearch'd, Words tortured, and Actions miſrepreſented; and after a moſt Laborious Enquiry, they brought forth a real Juſtification of the Perſons accuſed. However, they had Strength enough in the Houſe thereupon to carry the *Impeachments*, and they ſtill gave out they had further Diſcoveries to make, until ſome who ſaw their aim, and knew they had Power to compaſs it, thought it high time to provide for their own Safety, by not truſting their Lives and Honour in the Power

A Committee for Secret Affairs.

Impeachments.

Power of Men, who thirſted after the Blood of the greateſt Perſons in the Kingdom, and who had no Honour to loſe in the purſuit.

It cannot be contended, but that Impeachments are a very proper reſource againſt the Power of Miniſters and Favourites. It is one of the moſt glorious Remains of our Conſtitution, that Criminals, how ſubtle ſoever, and however protected by an eaſie or a vicious Prince, may be reached in a Parliamentary way; which Method, in ſome Caſes, is the beſt, and perhaps the only one, of coming at them. For Example, A Privy Councellor adviſeth his Maſter to enter into a *War*, without Provocation, deſtructive of the Trade and Intereſt of his Country, and contrary to National Faith confirmed by ſolemn Treaties: A *Paraſite* contrives a *Project* to enrich the *Minions* of a Court, at the Expence, and to the Ruin of many Families; a *Truſtee* for the *Publick* becomes an *Advocate*, and *Champion* for the *Pillagers* of it; or a *Miniſter* of State lays a Scheme, or ſigns an Order, that ſhall famiſh Thouſands of Innocent People. In one, or all of theſe and the like Caſes, where perhaps the Guilty cannot be affected in the common courſe of Law, and yet deſerve to be ſignalized by Exemplary Puniſhment, as eternal Monuments of CORRUPTION, and likewiſe of National Juſtice; it is the Duty of the *Repreſentatives* of the *Commons* of *England* to Impeach

the

the Offenders; and it is the higheſt Breach of Truſt in them, not thus to exert the Rights of the People, when call'd upon by ſuch enormous Crimes, and by the *Sufferings* of their Country-men.

BUT on the other Hand, the Priviledge of the Commons to Impeach, ought not to be proſtituted on ſlight Pretences, or to gratifie the Spleen of this or that Man, or Party. And in the Caſe before us, of thoſe *unhappy Impeachments*, which created ſo much ill Blood in the Nation, and promoted ſo faſt the enſuing Miſchiefs, they were not only ill-tim'd, and fatal in their Fruits, but alſo wholly without Grounds, unleſs to have ſerved ones Prince and ones Country, ought to have been imputed for Crimes.

THE Perſons accuſed could not be thought Guilty, even by their Adverſaries, of betraying their Truſt, of Sacrificing the True *Engliſh* Intereſt to that of Foreigners, or of any ſort of *Bribery*, *Corruption*, or *Rapine*. But their Crimes were, They were faithful Servants of the Crown, and loved their Country: They were known to be averſe from all Schemes of private Gain, and abhorred the Thought of any Innovations, either in Church or State. It therefore became the Intereſt, as it was the Inclination, of the governing Party, to remove out of their way ſuch Obſtacles to their Deſigns; and becauſe there was not the leaſt

ground

ground in point of Law, to proceed upon againſt them, they fell upon *Impeachments*, as the moſt artful way to conceal the Weakneſs of their Accuſation, and at the ſame time to raiſe that ferment, which was ſo neceſſary to their further Views,

BUT neither could *Impeachments*, extraordinary as they were, ſerve their Turn: They had recourſe to Bills of *Attainder*, which are a ſummary way of robbing Men of their Honours, Eſtates, and Lives, and which are ſeldom juſtifyable, excepting againſt thoſe, who maintain the Equity of that extraordinary Method of Arraignment. Attainders.

DURING the dependance of the *Impeachments* and Bills of *Attainder*, there were uſher'd into the Houſe with great Solemnity, Accounts of *Plots* againſt the Government, and formidable Stories of Invaſions, on purpoſe to alarm the timerous, to enflame the Angry, to afford a pretext for augmenting the Forces, the Command whereof, was to be in their Hands, and to multiply Taxes for the Benefit of the Advocates for the Cauſe, and the Creatures of the principal Men.

THOSE Diſtempers and Violences of the *Parliament*, naturally inſpired ſuch, as were to be the Sacrifice, with a Reſolution to defend themſelves. So the *Civil War* commenced, which was manifeſtly the effect of the Rage and Wickedneſs of the Managers in the Parliament, Civil War.

liament, and of the Craft and Treachery of *many about the King*. And it was not deny'd by ſome of them, that they intended from the beginning, to drive Things to theſe Extremities, which they ſaid were neceſſary, to make the *King a great King*; though it was eaſily diſcerned, their Deſigns were to make him their Slave, to alter the Frame of the Conſtitution, to govern by Force and a Standing Army, and to Oppreſs and Tyrannize over their Fellow-Subjects.

WHEN they had got an Army and a Civil War, or Rebellion to their Mind, it was far from being their deſire to make a ſpeedy End of it; which was viſible from many Things, particularly from this, That they iſſu'd out no Proclamation of Pardon to thoſe, who ſhould lay down their Arms. Nor was it their Intereſt; the War, or the Pretence of it, was to bring about many *great Things* for them. And becauſe they apprehended that an Army of *Engliſhmen* would hardly ſupport them in what they Projected, they invited a Body of *Foreign* Forces into the Heart of the Kingdom; and theſe they kept a long time after the Buſineſs was done, for which they were pretended to be call'd in; till at length, not out of Compaſſion to the Country, although heavily Taxed, for the Maintenance of the two Armies, and ſeverely oppreſſed by them, but purely, becauſe they had no further Work for them,

Foreign Army.

and

and were now able to walk alone, they dismiss'd, and most liberally rewarded their Foreign Deliverers, as they term'd them.

HAVING all the Money of the Kingdom at their disposal, the Civil Power, and two Armies well appointed, it was no wonder Victory declared on their Side; which they used with the Insolence and Barbarity to be expected from them. And if there had been any Disposition to heal the Wounds of a bleeding Nation, here had been a fair Field for so happy an Event. A frank and generous Pardon might have established Tranquility; but this was the Terror of governing Men, and what they spurned at from their Souls. So they set themselves to execute Rigor, as it were in despight of the Sense, and Wishes of Mankind, and of the Addresses of all those, who might be supposed to have most Credit with the Persecutors. But all Application seemed but to whet the Edge of Cruelty, many Parts of the Kingdom became the Scenes of their Butcheries, in cold Blood. The MANNER of one of those was * *New, and without Example.* Several Noble Persons and others Surrendered to Mercy, having been induced to it, through the Perswasions of the Commanding Officer who attacked the Town, in which they had unfortunately shut themselves

Executions.

* Lord *Clarendon.* Hist.

ſelves up. One or two of the Priſoners were preſently Shot for Example, under Pretence of *Military Juſtice*, the reſt † they reſerved to be more Publick Spectacles. They were brought up to *London*, treated with all the Ignominy that could be deviſed, Condemned, and many of them Executed: And ſuch an Alien to all Gallantry, was the Officer, who perſwaded them to Surrender, that either from the Virulence of his own Nature, or his Paſſion to gratify his Maſters, or perhaps from both, he miſ-interpreted the Laws of Arms and of *Nations*, as if a *Promiſe of Mercy* did but *exempt the Priſoners from the Fury of the Soldiers, or a Council of War*. However it were, it was an odious Caſe; and the Sufferers were not more pitied, than he and his Patrons were loaded with Execrations of all Sorts.

Nor content with the many Executions in ſeveral Parts of the Kindgom, the *Parliament* ſeized upon all the Eſtates of the Delinquents, and appointed a *Commiſſion* of *Seqeſtrators*, to enquire into the Effects of the Perſons they had a mind ſhould forfeit: This Commiſſion was made up of ſeveral of the moſt *Corrupt* and Inhuman of the whole Tribe, and had a Power, almoſt unlimited, thrown into their Hands, by which they miſerably grieved

Commiſſion of Sequeſtrators.

† Lord *Clarendon*, Vol. 3. Pag. 137. and 204, 205, 206.

ved all ſorts of People who had any thing to do with them.

It is difficult to conceive the groſs Abuſes theſe Men were guilty of: Neither the Tears and Cries of innocent, ſtarving Widows and Orphans, the Equity of the Cauſe, or their own ſatiety in Injuſtice and Severities, could make them relax from their Reſolution to do wrong. They undertook the Employment for that purpoſe; and their Conſciences and Inclinations were of that mold, not to give them leave to receive their Hire for ſo agreeable a Work, and to do it by halves.

Whilst they were ſo happily poſſeſs'd of a Rebellion to carry on their Purpoſes, many Perſons of all Ranks were ſeized, and without any Forms of Law, or knowing their Accuſers, and even without any Accuſation at all, were detained a long time in Priſon; their Friends and Relations prohibited to come near them, and they not permitted to have common Neceſſaries: Which Invaſion of Men's Rights was ſo univerſally practis'd throughout the Kingdom; it would fill a Volume to enumerate how many Perſons and Families were undone by it. I have ſeen a Manuſcript in the Hands of a Nobleman, containing the Names of the Oppreſſors, and an account of Thouſands of Innocent People, many of them Perſons of diſtinction, who ſuffered in their Health, Eſtates, and ſevera who loſt their Lives by that illegal Method

of Impriſoning, *ad arbitrium.* Which ſurely was a great Argument, among a Multitude of others, of the dangerous Conſequence of breaking in upon the Fences of National Freedom. Not but that it is a prudent piece of Policy in all Governments, to ſtrengthen themſelves by ſecuring the Perſons of ſuch Enemies, as Plot their overthrow: But the Methods, thoſe Men made uſe of, were wholly unjuſtifiable, and wou'd have rendered them odious, tho' they had done nothing elſe, that was bad. For, what elſe could be ſaid of them and their Proceedings, but that the Conſervators of the Liberty of their Countrymen, not only gave up the chief Security thereof, which was the *Habeas-Corpus*; but ſhewed the Example themſelves to others to ſtrike at the Root of the Conſtitution?

A Standing Army.

As the *Army* was their chief Support, they ſtudied all ways of pleaſing the Officers, and ſubjecting the Common Soldiers to anſwer their Ends. In order to the firſt of theſe, they paid them well, indulged them in all kinds of Licenſe, that a victorious Army are prone to; and then to quiet their Minds againſt the Fear of Suits or Proſecutions for their Outrages, they kindly gave them a *Bill* of *Indemnity* for their ſole Uſe and Protection; and to juſtify all the Inſults and Barbarities they had committed, which were without Number. And when the Country became ex-

exhauſted by Taxes, and that all Men cried out to have the Army reduced, they fell upon a Scheme to favour their good Friends, and yet ſeem to comply with the Wiſhes and Wants of the People: which was to model, the Army ſo, as to keep up a *great Number* of *Officers*, and fewer Soldiers. By which means, they had a new Opportunity of Purging that Body of thoſe they diſliked, they gratified their Friends, and ſtill retained the ſame Power to do Miſchief, and continued the ſame Oppreſſion upon the Country.

Modelling the Army which the called Disbanding.

IN Order to ſubdue the Spirits of the Common Soldiers to all their Uſes, they ſet up *Martial Law*, independent of the Civil Magiſtrate, and in Times of Peace. This was to act fairly, and take off the Maſque at once; ſince it was in effect to ſet up for a Military Government without further Ceremony. For how averſe ſoever the Soldiers might be to trample upon the Laws and Liberties of their Countrymen, they were by *Martial Law* to be compelled to it: a Refuſal to ſerve for ſuch Purpoſes was thereby interpreted *Mutiny*; for which they were inſtantly to be Shot, being deprived of the Benefit of the Laws of the Land, and totally excluded from their Right by *Magna Charta* to an equal Tryal by a Jury of their Neighbours. And the Hardſhip was ſtill the greater upon the Common Soldiers, that though their Country ſhould not require

Martial Law in Time of Peace.

Mutiny.

their Service, and that they ſhould deſire to retreat to their Homes, their Families, or ſome honeſt Occupation, it was not in their Power; but they were to be put to Death for *Deſerters*, to attempt a Delivery from Idleneſs and Servitude. Thus by Virtue of this Law, the Soldier became firſt enſlaved, in order afterwards to bring the Country under Bondage: Whilſt the Officers gained a Dominion, which they abuſed according to the Tyranny of their Natures and the Pride of Upſtarts; and this perhaps might make common Soldiers the more ready to bring their Fellow Subjects into Slavery, that they might all be upon an equal Foot: For the ſame Purpoſe, they put the *Militia* under new Regulations, and into the Hands of Men, notorious for Animoſity, againſt the Conſtitution in *Church* and *State*, or of ſo little Intereſt or Stake in their Country, that they might be depended upon, as proper Inſtruments to bring it into Subjection.

Deſertion.

Under the Notion of ſuppreſſing *Tumults and Riots*, they took all Arbitrary Meaſures to prevent honeſt Men from meeting and converſing freely together; at the ſame time that they encouraged a ſeditious Number of Fellows in the City, to inſult the well-meaning Freemen and Citizens, who they imagined diſliked their Proceedings. They dreaded leſt the True *Engliſh* Spirit ſhould revolt againſt ſuch Task-Maſters; therefore, by that and ſome other terrible

Tumults, and Riots.

terrible Ordinances, they did, what in them lay, to ſink the Genius of the People into that abject Tameneſs, that might make them more eaſily ſubmit their Necks to the Yoke prepared for them. To this, were added many Examples of their Severity againſt thoſe, who had fallen under their Diſpleaſure. For they found out a way of *trying* them, not in their own Country where their Characters were known, nor in the Places where the Offences were committed; but here in *London*, where none of the *Jury* perhaps had ever heard of them, untill called upon for this particular Service; which was a Method againſt all Rules of common Juſtice. Neither could it be excuſed by any pretended Exigences of the State, nor the Evil ballanced by any Advantage thoſe Men could propoſe from the breach of the Conſtitution in ſo Fundamental a Point: But they knew they did not deſerve to be loved, ſo they took Care to be feared; as Men, who had Power, and would uſe it without regard to God or Man.

Illegal Methods of Trying.

BUT one of the moſt fatal and confounding Parts of their whole Management, was the Act for *Continuing* themſelves; which was ſince called the Act for the *Perpetual Parliament*. * This was directly contrary to the

The Act for Continuing themſelves.

* The Act for the *Perpetual Parliament* as it is called. *Pag.* 204, *Clar.* Fol. 1ſt Vol.

the Intent and Reaſons of the † *Triennial Act*, which they had before affected to be ſo fond of, and which the Nation afterwards had ample Reaſon to wiſh had been always preſerved Sacred and Inviolable.

It is not to be repreſented, what a Flood of Calamities overwhelmed the King and Kingdom, from this accurſed Act. Without this, the ſworn Managers, could not poſſibly have gone through with their Work. Their Power indeed would have laſted too long, but it would have had a Period within *three Years*; and the Fear of their being call'd to Account at the expiration of that Time for paſt Crimes, might have put ſome Bounds to their Wickedneſs. But the *lengthening* the *Time* of their *Domination* enlarged their Views, and they looked upon Juſtice to be as remote in this, as in another World. Hence, the loweſt and meaneſt Creatures of that Aſſembly extended their Ambition, copied after their Elders and *Superiors* in *Corruption*, and dreamed of no leſs, than of ſwelling into Lords and Peers of the Realm; and hence it happened, that all Methods, how Scandalous ſoever, of acquiring Riches for the Members, were entertained in the Houſe with that Joy and Ardor, which left little or no Room for Contradiction.

† A Bill for the *Triennial Parliament*, paſſed. *Pag.* 165, *Clar.* Fol. 1ſt Vol.

HENCE

HENCE befell amongſt an infinite Number of other Miſchiefs, *one* of ſuch a monſtrous Nature, it will be an everlaſting Blot upon the Senſe as well as the Virtue of the Nation; as it was at that Time a heavy Judgment upon it from Heaven: A general Infatuation ſeemed to have ſeized Men; for although many there were, who heartily diſliked both the Thing, and the manner of it, and deteſted the Iniquity of the *Contrivers*, yet the Parliament paſſed it in great Gaiety, and found Inſtruments as wicked as themſelves to *execute* it. *Is habitus animorum fuit, ut preſſimum facinus auderent pauci, pleures vellent, omnes paterentur.*

SOME of the chief Actors in that *black Affair* were taken untimely away to anſwer for it elſewhere, before they could be brought to Trial here: Others by other means eſcaped the Hands of the Miniſters of Juſtice; and indeed all of them found much milder Treatment than they deſerved.

BUT this Evil, great as it was, was but one, out of many, that flowed from the Continuance of that CORRUPT Parliament. There were ſome Wiſe Men ſaw the ill Conſequences of that *perpetuating Act*, and the Reaſons they gave againſt it were ſufficiently juſtified by the Sequel of Things: But no Mortal could have foreſeen all the Ill it really produced.

produced. How terrible then muſt that Act have been, which was calculated to bring forth many Miſchiefs unavoidable from the Nature of it, and which might, as in Truth it did, beget many more, that no Man could have conceived, if they had not happened. It is true the Bill had the Royal Aſſent, but his Majeſty did not weigh the Conſequences of it, and the Craft of the Propoſers; nor conſider the Blow it gave to his own Prerogative, by inveſting Men in Power, who could have no Temptation to deſire it, but the Purpoſe to abuſe it; which they did to the full, and yet had the Art to load his Majeſty as the Author of all thoſe Violences, and to render him the Object of the Popular Rage and Invectives.

In all this Time that they were heaping Acts one upon another againſt the Laws of the Land, of Reaſon, and Nature, they were alſo *multiplying Taxes* as faſt as they could. There was a *Committee of Accounts* (a ſad Pack indeed!) whoſe Trade it was to ſquander away the *Publick* Money, and to bring the *Publick* ſtill farther into Debt. *Arrears, Services, Deficiencies, Subſidies* to *Foreigners*, with a thouſand other Pretences, were every Day made the Ground for new Impoſitions upon the poor Country; new Employments were created for their Tools; and Rewards; that is, *Penſions* and *Bribes*, were ſcattered up

Increaſe of Taxes.

Committee of Accounts.

up and down, though the Treaſury was entirely empty; nay, though the Country was beggared, and Trade, which ſhould bring in Money, was neglected, and wantonly thrown into other Nations. I am told a Gentleman now living, hath been curious enough, to take an Account of the ſeveral Sums thoſe Plunderers laviſhed away from the Publick, and that the Sums voted for the Service of but one Year exceeded all that had been given for thrice the ſame Period by the moſt prodigal of their Predeceſſors; yet that Year was a Year of Peace too, and the People were never ſo miſerably Poor as then.

It would puzzle a Man to gueſs, what ſort of Notions thoſe People at *Weſtminſter* could have. They were eternally told of the Miſery of the Country, they heard ſcarce any thing out of the Houſe, but the Groans of the Suffering People; yet as ſoon as they got within *thoſe Walls*, they voted away ſuch prodigious Sums, at ſuch a mercyleſs rate, one would think they took it to be the Duty of their Place, to Scourge and Plague the Land.

How little they conſidered the Intereſt of *England* with reſpect to Foreign States appeared * from many Inſtances. They unſeaſonably

* *Clar.* Vol. 3. p. 170. In the Year 1658, and 1659. *Whitlock* alſo.

A Fleet ſent into the *Baltick.*

ſeaſonably ſent a *Fleet* at vaſt Expences into the *Sound*, under Pretence of mediating a Peace between the *Northern* Powers; but they acted the Mediators ſo ill, it was eaſily ſeen they made themſelves a Party in the Quarrel. And which was ſtill worſe, they joined with *France* in a War againſt *Spain*, to the Ruin of the Trade and Commerce of *England*, and contrary to all Rules of Policy and good Senſe, which at that Time ſhould have engaged them rather to be *Neuters*, or if they would needs meddle in the War, it ſhould have been, to have raiſed *Spain* to be a Ballance againſt the growing Power of the *French* Monarchy; which, though under a Minority, was then likely enough to be one Day a formidable Enemy to *England*. But thoſe unskilful Rulers, caſt their Politicks only for the Day, how for the preſent they might keep their Power and Dominion over their Subjects, and ſo left Poſterity under the many Preſſures they had Treaſured up for them.

A War againſt *Spain*

It cannot be thought but from ſo long a Train of Abuſes and Corruptions, the Parliament muſt have drawn upon it ſelf great *Odium*. The Nation ſuffered with Impatience the Tyranny of ſuch a profligate Sett, who plainly aimed at nothing leſs than to ride and vex, and harraſs the three Kingdoms for ever. this ſeemed the more inſupportable, becauſe

by

by the long execution of Power, their Perſons became perfectly well known, and of Conſequence, grew contemptible. Every Day produced ſome ſharp Pamphlet or other againſt them: To prevent this, they appointed a *Committee* to find out and Examine Printers and Authors, and as far as they could, to take away the Liberty of the Preſs; purſuant to which, ſeveral Printers and poor Hawkers were illegally Seized and Confined, and otherwiſe Severely handled, at the Pleaſure of thoſe deſpicable Tyrants. But this had the uſual Effect in ſuch Caſes; they were more and more pelted, more and more deſpiſed. The Women and Children in the Streets, and their own Footmen in the Lobby of the Houſe agreed in the ſame Appellation of them, calling them a COMPANY OF ROGUES.*

A Committee for Pamphlets.

DIVERS *Widows*, and other *Creditors of the Parliament* †, flocked to the Houſe, and in a rude and impetuous Manner, cried out to the Members -- PAY US OUR MONEY--- JUSTICE --- JUSTICE --- the RUMP --- the RUMP, *ſeeming ready to tear their Cloaths from off their Backs*; inſomuch, that thoſe who had for ſo many Years Lorded over the three Kingdoms, were forced to ſend for Guards for a Defence, againſt a Parcel of

Clamours againſt the Parliament

* Whitlock p. 305. † Ibid. 193.

Women. Addreſſes from moſt of the conſiderable Cities and Shires were ſent againſt them, renouncing them for Repreſentatives, and expreſſing the greateſt Abhorrence of their Perſons and Actions; until being now grown the Averſion and Scorn of the World, Providence was pleaſed to diſſolve the Charm, that had bound theſe Nations under the Rule and Diſcipline of ſuch Wretches.

ONE may form an Idea, to what a pitch of Deteſtation and Contempt that Houſe of Commons was arrived, from hence, that the moſt unpopular Man in the Kingdom became generally acceptable, only becauſe he treated them as they merited. *He loaded them* (as * one of themſelves mentions) *with the vileſt Reproaches, charging them not to have a Heart to do any thing for the* PUBLICK GOOD, *to have eſpouſed a* CORRUPT INTEREST, &c. *the Supporters of Tyranny and Oppreſſion, accuſing them of an Intention to* PERPETUATE THEMSELVES IN POWER. And when a *Principal Member* did but mention the Words *Morality* and *common Honeſty*, the other thought them ſo improper from his Mouth, he fell into an Exclamation of Contempt, crying out, *The Lord deliver me from*----

Parliament in Contempt.

ANO-

* Ludlow.

*ANOTHER of their Writers, who was alſo of the Houſe, gives much the ſame Account of that Paſſage, he relates, That the Perſon, above hinted at, told the Houſe, That *they had Sate long enough unleſs they had done more Good*, That *they were* CORRUPT, UNJUST, *and* SCANDALOUS, *&c.* That *it was not fit they ſhould ſit, as a Parliament, any longer*, with a good deal more to the ſame Purpoſe, ſo he *bid them be gone, and all of them tamely departed the Houſe.*

SUCH was the Fate of the memorable *Rump*; upon which, this Author makes ſeveral Obſervations of the Uncertainty of Worldly Things. They afterwards revived a little, and had ſome glimmering Hopes of their Continuance: but their Hearts were quite broken by a final Diſſolution † *to the unſpeakable Joy of all the reſt of the Kingdom*, to whom they had been ſo long a moſt uncomely irkſome Burthen, and *who, notwithſtanding their very different Affections, Expectations, and Deſigns, were unanimous in their Wearineſs and Deteſtation of the* LONG PARLIAMENT; which was obvious from the Multitude of Reproachful Addreſſes againſt

Parliament diſſolved.

* *Whitlock.* † Lord *Clarendon's* Hiſt.

against them, and from the Behaviour of the City of *London* towards them a little before they were dissolved. For, *there could be no Invention of Fancy, Wit, or Ribaldry, that was not exercised* by the Citizens and their Apprentices, *to defame them. As soon as the Evening was come, there was a continual Light of Bonefires throughout the City and Suburbs, with such an universal Exclamation of Joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed; with such ridiculous Signs of Scorn and Contempt of the Parliament, as testified the No-regard, or rather, the notable Detestation they had of it; here being scarce a Bonefire, at which they did not roast a Rump, and Pieces of Flesh made like one, "which they "said, was for the* CELEBRATION OF THE FUNERAL OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Joy thereupon.

FINIS.